1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

INHERITANCE.

The Khasi and Synteng laws of inheritance are practically the same, although in some of the dolaships in the Jaintia Hills there are some slight differences. The Wár law of inheritance differs greatly from that of the Khasis, and the customs of the Bhois or Mikirs, who inhabit the Bhoi dolaship of the Jaintia Hills, are totally different from those of the Khasis, thereby supplying another link in the chain of evidence in support of the conclusion that the Bhois, or, more correctly speaking, the Mikirs, are of Bodo origin, and not Khasi or Mon-Anams. The Lyngams follow the Khasi law of inheritance. It will be convenient to describe the Khasi law first, and then to pass on to the special customs in vogue in the different dolaships in the Jaintia Hills, and, finally, to describe the Wár, Bhoi and Lyngam customs.

The Khasi saying is, "*ïaeng jaid na ka kyntkei*" (from the woman sprang the clan). The Khasis, when reckoning descent count from the mother only; they speak of a family of brothers and sisters, who are the great grandchildren of one great grandmother, as *shi kpoh*, which, being literally translated, is one womb, i.e. the issue of one womb. The man is *pyndy*. If he is a brother, a *kur*, a brother being taken to mean an uterine brother, or a cousin-german, he will be lost to the family or clan directly he marries. If he be a husband, he is looked upon merely as a *shong kha*, a begetter. In some of the Wár villages a newly married man is spoken of by the bride's family as, "*u khun ki briew*," some one else's son. It is, perhaps, somewhat of a paradox under the circumstances that wives should address their husbands as "*kyrwad*," or lord. There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that the husband, at least in theory, is a stranger in his wife's house, and it is certain that he can take no part in the rites and ceremonies of his wife's family, and that his ashes after death can find no place within the wife's family tomb, except, in certain cases, amongst the Syntengs. Further, the ceremonial religion amongst Khasis, especially that of the house, is in the hands of the women. It is, therefore, perhaps not to be wondered at, considering the important status assigned to women by the Khasis, that women

more than a thousand of them who have been converted to the Hindu religion.

This group of people possesses the possibility of expansion, since they have at their disposal within the area of the Khasi and Jaintia Mountains a territory of 6,022 English square miles, with only 40 persons per square mile. Although wide areas are not built up and the system of shifting fields prevents the full utilization of the land, it is still true that with this small population figure by far the largest part of the whole population (280, 781) is dependent on agriculture; trade and manufacturing only play a subordinate part.

With regard to the division of the sexes, the two large religions of Assam, Hinduism and Mohammedanism, show the same proportion as in the rest of India, a lesser number of women than men. But among the Khasi the women are more numerous than the men. In the Brahmaputra valley with its greater Hindu population there are only 895 women for every 1,000 men, in the Surma valley, with a greater Moslem element, there are 937. But the situation is reversed among the Khasi, where there is a surplus of 74 women for every thousand men. The position of the women is basically different among this people. It is based on the customs and usages of maternal rights that prevail among them, which are predominantly based on possession and which find honorable expression in possession.

1. Property Rights in the Family Property.

The great principle which governs property among the Khasi, is that all family property rests in the hands /120: A/ /Fig. 1. Khasi Girls and Women with their Carrying Baskets. Fig. 2. An Old Clan Mother in the Village Laitumkhra. / /120: B/ /Fig. 3. At the Oracle of Egg Throwing/. Fig. 5. Khasi Girls and Men in Festive Dance Clothing. / /120: C/ /Fig. 4. A Group of Syeeng/ /120: D/ Fig. 6. A Holy Grove and Part of the Village Rating/ /120/ of the women and not of the men. The man can never be the owner of family property, and it can never be transferred to him. He may perhaps acquire some property through his own industry and work, but even that will pass into feminine hands by the path of inheritance. The concept of family is not as narrowly drawn here as in our country. This is a question of the clan-family, the clan. The head of it is always the youngest daughter, who, even when she has become old, bears the honorable name ka hatit in the Jaintia Mountains, and in the Khasi Mountains ka khadduh, the last, the youngest. Around her gather her nearest blood relatives, brothers and sisters, and children. For example let

613 bahla); and as long as the expiatory sacrifice, in the form of pigs and
613 goats, determined by the elders of the family and by the sacrificial
612 priest (lyngdoh) has not been offered, the sinning member is considered excluded from the family and the family sacrifices. But even after being accepted again a certain stain still clings to him.

But it is also the duty of the clan mother to care for the needs of
613 the members of her family clan with regard to food, clothing, and the like. She divides the fruits of the harvests according to the needs of the individual. She goes or sends to market to trade, to buy, or to sell. She takes care of the common purse and even the masculine members of the clan have to ask her for money when they wish to drink rice liquor or buy clothing. There the clan mother is generous
• [649] rather than niggardly. This dependent relationship of the men is not considered unworthy at all or shameful. It is the matriarchal form and ancient custom. Nevertheless, the position of the men in the family clan is an esteemed one. Even the name they are called by has an important sound: Rangbah, Basan (oldest ones, advisers). On them falls often the work in the field and wood or the protection of the family; bow and arrow are handed to them as cradle gifts. In the more important family matters the clan mother consults with them. At the giving of the name, during a wedding, a funeral, or cremation the clan mother steps almost completely into the background, also during quarrels and court hearings before the chief (Doloi) or king (S'iem). She is still always influential with her advice, but the actual appearance, activity and judgments is the business of the men. The smaller,
[102] everyday sacrifices she performs in the clan hut; but she can also let these /135/ be performed by her sons. At larger sacrificial ceremonies which are offered by several family clans at the same time, by whole
[779] villages or even by one of the Khasi states, only the men are active as sacrificial priests.

613 With regard to the husbands of the clan mother and of the feminine
596 members, they are not considered members of the family clan of the women at all. They are only considered the begetters. They work and live in their own clan, participate in their sacrifices and burial places. The father has no further influence in the raising of the children, who belong entirely to the clan of the mother. But usually they have no obligation, unless the wife and children are impoverished. Even then their care comes in second place after that of members of their own
[593] clan. Nevertheless the husband is honored and is addressed by "Mr." (kynrad) by his wife. She would consider it disgraceful to approach him impertinently. Where the property of a clan has been dissolved or Christian customs introduced, the husband lives and works together with his wife and children.

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1906 ART Khasi ART

611 428 custom prevails amongst the Syntengs. Inheritance to the post of Sien (or chief) also passes through the female line, there being special customs of inheritance for each of the different chiefships.

3. The Khasis are divided into clans, or *kur*. These clans are 699 strictly exogamous. Some of these clans derive their names from animals, insects, trees or fish,—*e.g.*, the thaw clan, thaw meaning a crab; the *shrieh* clan, *shrieh* meaning a monkey; the *rani* clan, so called from a fish by name *rani*; the *dienglieh* clan, *dienglieh* meaning a certain tree. There are other instances also. In such instances, the clan is said to have sprung from the animal, fish, or tree, as the case may be. There thus appears to be a trace of totemism amongst the Khasis, although now-a-days their totems are not worshipped, nor do people abstain from killing, eating, or utilising them. A man when he marries does not come to belong to the *kur* or family of his mother, but his children belong to the *kur* of the man's wife. Frequently the husband merely visits his wife at her mother's house. It is seldom the case that a man takes his wife to his own house, certainly not until several children have been born.

As might be expected, owing to the influence of the matriarchate, 562 Khasi and Synteng women enjoy a much greater share of liberty than is usually the case with the sex. Although not wishing to make any general insinuations, there can be no doubt that Khasi women enjoy considerable freedom in their sexual relations. Women do all the trading, and like their Manipuri sisters make all the home purchases.

4. *Ancestor worship.*—The Khasis propitiate *Ka Iawbei*, the first 769 maternal ancestress of the clan, by sacrificing a pig; they also sacrifice yearly to *U Suidnia* (the departed maternal great-uncle). Also when a family is in trouble, *U Thaolang* (the departed great-grandfather) is propitiated. Ancestors are further worshipped by the erection of memorial stones. These memorial stones will be noticed separately.

5. *Birth customs.*—At the birth the navel of a child must not be 944 severed by any instrument made of iron or steel, but by a sharp splinter of bamboo. The placenta is placed in a pot and is kept inside the house till the ceremony of naming the child takes place. As long as the placenta remains in the house, the latter is *ung*, or taboo, to anyone except the members of the family. On the day of the ceremony of naming the child, the father removes the placenta and buries it outside the house. Having done this, the feet of the father are washed with water before he re-enters the house. When the ceremony takes place, parboiled rice is placed on a stone (*a prah*) and a small hoe and three arrow- [illegible] the child is a male, and a *sni* (or *da*) and a star or (more often) (wife or [illegible] the forehead when carrying a load by the Khasis), if the child is a female.

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[p.206]

SOCIAL GROUPINGS AMONG THE KHASIS OF ASSAM

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(Received on 20th October, 1953)

Introduction

THE Khasis, who inhabit the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam, are matrilineal. Like the Garos, they, are matrilocal in residence. Exclusive ownership over family property is claimed by the Khasi women and the youngest daughter (*Ka Khadduh*) who lives permanently in the house of her mother, is the custodian of the family property and the holder of religion (*Ka kot ka-mane*)[1].

This paper deals with the social groupings, namely, the clan, sub-clan and family, of the Khasis. The materials were collected in 1950 from Mawphlang, Cherrapunji and Mawlaih and Mawsmai villages further south of the Cherra Store.

Clan-system

In the language of the Khasi, the prefix *Ka* is usually used before the name of a woman or any object belonging to a woman (or considered feminine). The use of *Ka* as a prefix before the name of each social group is suggested to have bearing on Khasi matriliny. *Kur* is not a very expressive and exact term for a clan. *Kuhar*, which is supposed to have sprung from the woman *Iong jaid na ka kpathait*[2] is more exact. Similarly, *Kurlieh* and *Kurding* denote the sub-clan and family respectively.

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[1] Gurdon, P. R. T., *The Khasis*, London, 1907, p. 66.
[2] *Op. cit.*, page 66.

13:Mukherjee K-5 (1954)918 ART Khasi ART

extended form more often when the children of the deceased sisters of Ka-khaddiah reside there. This extension is on the mother's side and is effected through the extension of mother-child relationship.

Additional members like widower brothers or widowed sisters make the Khasi family a composite one.

In a Khasi family father, mother and her brother are very important. Father who is regarded as *Ryndap* (stranger) or *Diengsing kha* (begotten), has also the position of *Ryntad* (master) of the house (set-up by him). He is the executive head and the mother is the *defacto* owner of the household.

Modern conditions and spread of Christianity have greatly affected the Khasi society and changed the Khasi ways of life but have failed to alter the traditional mode of inheritance even among the Christian Khasis. Another important fact which is apparent in the Khasi families, is the change of the status of the mother's brother (*U kni*) in his sister's house. His influence has greatly been diminished due to clash with *Ka-Khaddiah* (Saiwan). He has almost lost his control over his sister's family. This has made the women exert their status to a danger point. Consequently, some amount of maladjustment in the relationship system, moral depravity and disintegration loom large in the family horizon.

Family in the core of Khasi social organisation and the closeness of familial kin with the members of the sub-clan is due more to the fact that sub-clan owes its development to the family. A *Sirdar* (member of sub-clan) is a secondary relative and can easily be approached for any help.

The functions of the above mentioned social groupings are as follows:

Clan (*Ka-Kur*)—(i) regulates marriage. It being a large non-residential kin group contact between its members is infrequent. The amount of social participation needed on certain level to intensify the relationship among its members falls far short of. But sometimes, there existed among the members

[Journal reads 'regulated'—Ed.]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 595 Because of the firm right of women over the residence, Khasi polygyny can never be a clearly distinguishable institution, and has no operational advantage in the social and economic fields; the situation is very similar with lovers' relations and illegal marriages. By polygyny the man achieves no additional economic advantage, nor does he increase his social status or prestige; rather the reverse, for I observed that the polygynyst was regarded as a somewhat ludicrous or tragic figure. As for the woman, she is placed slightly at a disadvantage since the husband's economic activities are not concentrated on her household. However, even many legally-married wives are separated or divorced, so that such disadvantages are not only experienced by the wives of polygynists. The social disadvantage of being secondary wife is not serious, firstly, because wives, whether first or secondary, have social and economic independence—they do not belong to the husband as in the case of patrilineal systems. Secondly, the significance attached to the legal marriage institution is not so great, so that the handicap of being the secondary wife is not severe. What is most important, furthermore, is that her slightly inferior status does in no ways affect the next generation. Indeed such children, including [948] those of premarital or illegal relations, suffer no serious social dis- [951] advantage, though they are nominally distinguishable from legitimate children. From this it is clear that the effectiveness of legitimate marriage, and paternal recognition are rather limited among the Khasi.

Thus, Khasi polygyny differs greatly from the polygyny of other societies in terms of its operation and of its form. It also differs in the incentive to its practice. Among the Garo and many other societies, the practice of polygyny usually depends on a man's economic capability, but among the Khasi, it appears rather to depend on his whim. Khasi husbands are notorious for their heavy drinking and 182 neglect of wife and children. Some of them told me that their earnings, 599 their children and everything they acquired go to their wife or sister, 959 leaving them with nothing; therefore they should at least have freedom to enjoy their life. This freedom seemed to mean women and drink. I am not sure how far this explanation is true, but it seems to justify their behaviour to a certain extent. I do not mean that this is the general characteristic of the Khasi husbands, but some such tendency is to be observed. Actually I often heard wives complain of their husbands' drinking and running after women, and was asked "Are your Japanese husbands also like that?", "What is the good of having a husband!" then comes divorce . . .

182 On the contrary, women placed at an advantage by residence 562 and matrilineal inheritance, are required always to be on their best 959 behaviour. There are very strict rules governing the behaviour of Khasi women. They are supposed not to drink, smoke, or play with

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

any man other than their husband. Women before marriage enjoy a considerable freedom in love affairs, but once married these are no longer tolerated. Women should be faithful wives. They should be so in order to keep their husbands who have a strong tendency to leave their wives. The husband of a woman who has an affair with another man, will never come back to her. There is no attraction to draw the husband, who has home at his sister's, to his wife's house unless she is good and charming. Such Gurdon's remarks as "There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed among the Khasis. Unlike the Tibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time" (Gurdon, 1914, p. 77), is utterly nonsense: a Khasi woman is placed in a situation which is not easy to monopolize even one husband. Moreover, the Khasi social organization in general does not accord to the practice of polyandry.

[P. 140 is blank]

to: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 109 B] AR7 Khasi AR7

ing from the time it consists of an elementary family until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. [Cf. Chattopadhyay 1941.] Kin terminology. The terms of address given below are also terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khasi village near Shillong (cf. Ehrenfels 1955 for some regional variants).

Fa	*pa*
Mo	*mai*
FaElBr	*paiem*
FaYoBr	*pakhynnah*
FaSi	*khe*
Fa youngest Si	*khadduh*
MoElSi	*maiam*
MoYoSi	*mynnah*
Mo youngest Si	*mynduh*
MoElBr	*maiam, kni*
MoYoBr	*kah* (ref.: *kni*)
ElBr	*kah khynnah*
Eldest Br	*kong kah*
YoBr	*kah dong*
Youngest Br	*kah duh*
ElSi	*dong*
Eldest Si	*kad, kong*
YoSi	*kad nah, kad ne*
Youngest Si	*khadduh*
MoSiSo, MoSiDa	*paiem* (ref.: *paiem ar kmar*)
FaBrSo, FaBrDa	*paiem* (ref.: *paroklhe*)
MoBrSo, MoBrDa	
FaSiSo, FaSiDa	*kaikha*

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. Mode. According to the traditional courtship pattern, a group of young male relatives and friends made nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, appraising her through banter while she and her parents appraised them, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15 and boys 17 years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 19 and the boy 21. The most common mode of marriage is elopement, for Christians and non-Christians alike, but some Christians marry in church, and some Khasis still marry according to the traditional ceremony or some variation on it. There are no preferential or prescribed marriage types, nor is there a bride price or dowry. Form. Monogamy is the ideal for all. Extension of incest taboos. Mar are exogamous. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory FaSi and FaBr, FaBrCh, FaSiCh, and FaSiSiSo. The MoBrSo is also prohibited. Boy

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

objects are stored while that of the west (kynram blang) was meant exclusively for sacrificial goats. There is a very big circular courtyard in front of the building where the members of the royal family as also other boys and spinsters hold a ritual dance. The function is always held during the moonlit period of May or June and the actual dates are fixed in consultation with the Chief priest (*Sohblei*) in such a way that the first day—*Pomtiah** always coincides with the market day of Shillong Chota Bazar. The dates of the festival is then communicated to the in-charge of different units of his territory, through a wooden stick '*kyrwoh*' having a few knots of cane-strips, as a form of summons for attending the festival for five days at Smit along with subjects under their jurisdiction.

Important Participant

The responsibility of performing this ritual rests on the High-priestess (*Ka Siew Soit*) who is succeeded by her eldest daughter. Different ritual objects are procured by her, well in advance and it is obligatory on her part to join the ceremonial dancing, in which her daughter may also officiate on her behalf. U Shillong is worshipped by the chief priest while the other ancestors are invoked by lesser priests. The musicians (*Dhulia*) besides their normal duties, take part in the worship of the ancestors and they are presented with silk turban, jacket, cloth, by the ruling family for the services rendered during the festival. The *Siew* has no especial role except to supervise and evoke U Shillong for the welfare of the community. He is required to perform certain sacrifices, failing which his heir-apparent (*Siew kyrwoh*) does the same. He along with his sister (High priestess) abstain from taking rice during the period of celebration presumably to observe the sanctity of this festival as also to ensure the successful conclusion of the function.

Ritual Materials

The festival derives its name from the sacrifice of a large number of goats some of which were supplied from the State fund and from different units of the territory. Formerly at least fifty goats were required and each unit had a specific allotment but owing to the economic difficulty that the Khasi are experiencing, the number of goats sacrificed hardly exceeds twenty-five. The goats collected from the different units, are presented to the Chief at the midnight of the third day. Rice-beer, dried fish, fermented-rice, betel leaves together with eggs are also important ritual objects in this celebration.

Description of the Festival

The commencement of the festival was marked by the distribution of dried fish (suit dokha) to the persons assembled on the occasion, in the evening of *Pomtiah* (*i.e.* 21st June, 1957). This was followed by the dropping of rice-beer by the Chief priest over the five pieces of central hall known as *Ka mih-ka shar*

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*A week consists of eight days in Khasi Calendar the names are according to the places where markets are held : e.g. Iohe : Mylliem.

Name	Market
1. Pomtiah	Shillong Chota Bazar.
2. Umti	Cherrapunji.
3. Iew-duh	Shillong Police Bazar.
4. Lyngkie	Barapani.
5. Kingthem	Jowai.
6. Nartiang	Laban (Shillong).
7. Rangthong	Cherrapunji Chota Bazar.
8. Shillong	Lumdying Jail.

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER—X

Summary of main findings

125 10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of the 28 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 8 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 10 were selected at random from the entire district which is referred hereafter as general area.

166 Migration from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

164 Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and
243 as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a
871 radius of five miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also
489 be said to be unsatisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages
482 have a Lower Primary School. Transport facilities were not satisfactory and as much as 86 per cent of the villages still depend upon orimitive mode of transport, namely head load. Correlated with outmoded form of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

162 10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1006
161 in the Border area, and 647 in the Project area and 184 in the General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 100·6, 80·9 and 18·4 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1076 and 1092 females per 1,000 males as against 940 females per 1,000 males in the general area.
213 Literacy is as high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cen
562 in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area. In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

162 The working population (earners and earning dependents) is as high
464 as 35 per cent in the Border area, 34 per cent in the Project area and 63 per cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project and General areas, 53 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

241 10.3. 51 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricul-
162 tural, 35 per cent partly agricultural and 14 per cent independent o
463 agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 61, 31 and 8 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 98 per cent, 29 per cent, 1 per cent respectively.

Predominantly agricultural families constitute 61, 76 and 90 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

162 10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 29 per cent in Project
423 area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while 25 per cent, 39 per cent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·14 to 2·50 acres representing 11,24 and 26 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. 36 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding (3 to less than 10 acres)

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

697 In addition, a total of Rs. 899 (£89, 18s.) was expended on jail buildings. The manufacturing account shows cash receipts amounting to Rs. 60, against an expenditure of Rs. 29, or a net profit of Rs. 31 (£3, 2s).

797 871 648 EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS.—The management of education in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills is entirely in the hands of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission, who first established themselves in the District about the year 1844. Though the Khásiás are naturally dull, and children are taken away from school before they have obtained more than a smattering of instruction, yet the perseverance of the missionaries has been rewarded by most satisfactory results. It is stated, in the Report of the Inspector of Schools for Assam for 1874-75, that 'a much larger proportion of the Khásiás know a little of reading, writing, and arithmetic than is the case, probably, in any other [562] District of either Assam or Bengal.' Female education, owing to the interest taken in this work by the wives of the missionaries, is also in a comparatively advanced condition. The missionary schools are largely subsidised by grants in aid from Government. The [212] teaching is conducted in English and in Khási, the Roman character being used in both cases.

The following paragraphs are compiled from the Education Report for 1874-75, above referred to. In that year the total number of schools open in the District was 73, attended by 1666 pupils. As compared with the area and the population, these figures show one school to every 84·34 square miles, and one pupil to every 85 inhabitants. As compared with the total number of males under ten years of age, the number of boys only attending school (1322) shows one scholar to every 13·1. The total expenditure on education in the same year was Rs. 17,722. 11. 3, or £1772, 5s. 5d.; towards which Government contributed Rs. 10,443. 2, fees and fines produced Rs. 228. 5. 3, while the remainder (Rs. 7051. 4) was expended by the Missionary Society from its own funds. The average cost of educating each pupil was Rs. 10. 10. 4, or £1, 1s. 3½d.

648 797 872 PRIMARY SCHOOLS.—With the exception of the schools at Cherrá Púnjí, Jowái, Shillong, and Shellá, all the schools in the Hills may properly be classed as primary, though several are returned as middle vernacular schools. On this principle the total number of primary schools is 64, in 45 of which a little English is taught. These 64 schools had 1226 pupils on their rolls at the close of the year 1874-75, and an average daily attendance of 819, comparing

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

favourably with an average attendance of 694 in the preceding year. Of the pupils on the rolls, 132 were professed Christians, 36 Hindus, and 1058 Khásiás. The total cost was Rs. 7127. 11. 6, or £712, 15s. 5d., towards which Government contributed Rs. 3246. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 8. 7. 7, or 17s., of which Rs. 3. 14. 7 represents the share paid by Government. The chief failure among the Khásiás is stated by the Inspector to be in arithmetic. Four primary scholarships were awarded during the year by the Deputy-Commissioner, on the recommendation of the secretary to the Mission. These scholarships are of the value of Rs. 3 a month, or £3, 12s. a year, and are tenable for two years.

MIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOLS.—There were four schools of this class during the year under report, with 397 pupils on the rolls, and an average daily attendance of 243. The total expenditure was Rs. 4581. 15. 9, or £458, 4s., towards which Government contributed Rs. 1478. 8; the average cost of each pupil was Rs. 18. 13. 7, or £1, 17s. 8d.

FEMALE INSTRUCTION.—The Khási and Jáintiá Hills is the only District of Assam, and one of the very few throughout all India, in which female instruction can be said to exist. During 1874-75 the number of girls attending the schools increased from 242 to 344, or by more than 42 per cent., showing 4·7 girls at school to every thousand of the female population, as opposed to ·4 in the Province generally. Of this number 24 were taught by Mrs. Hugh Roberts of Cherrá Puinjí, and 18 by Mrs. John Roberts of Shellá. During the year five of the girls were sent out as teachers, of whom one was placed in charge of the Shillong girls' school, which has 29 pupils.

NORMAL SCHOOL.—According to the classification adopted by the Education Department, the institution at Cherrá Puinjí, under the management of the Rev. Hugh Roberts, is described as partly 'Government normal' and partly 'aided English.' In 1874-75 the number of pupils on the rolls was 43, and the average attendance 39. There is a class of 10 girls, and of the 16 teachers turned out during the year, 5 were girls. The total cost was Rs. 4232. 6. 6, almost the whole being paid by Government. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 109. 0. 7, or £10, 19s., of which Rs. 107. 2. 11 represents the share of Government. The following paragraph, quoted from Mr. Roberts' Report, illustrates what the missionaries have effected, and also the difficulties with which they have to contend:—'Cases have been brought to my notice during the past year

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

of father in Russia (for the *tzar*, etc.), (secondly) the youngest, not the oldest, daughter performs the family rites and inherits the family-property [84]. Even in cases when here is no woman to inherit, the youngest, not the oldest son inherits [85]. Among the conservatively matrilineal Pnár (Jaintia) this term of diminution, however, carries at times a somewhat contemptuous meaning, though the minorate is strongly in force also among them. The ambivalent position of this honorific term of diminution is thus significant (comp. term 9/*e* among Pnár and infra.)

Term 7 — mcher: (*i mei*) — The prefix *i* used among Khasi and War Khasi signifies particular reverence (supra: term 6). The classificatory character of the tem has been discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY [86].

Term 9/*f* — *ho* for all younger siblings, cousins and even other young folk does not indicte the consideration which the terms 9/*d* — *hong* for older sisters and female cousins, or 9/*e* — *hah* for their male equivalents indicate. The term *as* (9/*e* among Pnár) stands here, as generally, for elder and implies a honorific meaning (comp. term 6 supra and term 13/*a* infra).

Terms 10/*a* and *b* show that husband and wife address each other by equal terms and doin no way indicate anything like an inferior position of either wives or hubands of which I did also not find any indications otherwise. It may here bementioned that property rights even in newly established estates, vest in worn and are inherited by women, — not generally men.

Term 11*d* — *ka khun khaddah* — the youngest daughter whose important position in Khai religious ritual, social organization and inheritance law has already been refered to sub term 6 and described in detail elsewhere [87]. The affectionate characte of this term finds vivid expression in the abbreviation *ka duh*, which I herd from sisters and the father of a youngest daughter.

Term 13/*a* —*mei sau* (mother's older sister). The word *sau* (older) here has a definitel honorific character, although the *mei'ddyuoah* — the mother's younger sister (term 13/*b*) may be the heir of Ego's ancestral property. This constellation crresponds to the peculiar significance of terms 6, 9/*d* and especially 11/*d* (supra).

Terms 13, 14,15/*a*, 18, 18/*a*, 19/*b*, and the terms for cousins 19, 20, 21/*a*, 21/*b*, 22 show like term 7 — mother (supra), classificatory character. The restriction on cou-cousin marriage is of different nature, according as to whether they belg to different households, or not, as has been discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY [88].

Term 16/*a* —*dia* (mother's brother's wife) is basically the same as term 15 — *dia kha* (father's sister) [89] though the latter is qualified by the additional term *kha* (begetting, birth) which signifies paternal relationship (see: term No. 1).

[84] GURDON (191), pp. 63, seq.; CARTLIE (1884), p. 11.
[85] CARTLIE (191), p. 11.
[86] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 35, seq.
[87] GURDON (191), pp. 93, seq. and CARTLIE (1884), pp. 11, seq.
[88] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 35, seq.
[89] In detail discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), p. 37.